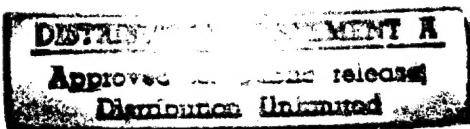


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# ***JPRS Report***



## **East Asia**

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***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 10, October 1991***

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### Firmly Maintain Faith and Advance on Our Chosen Path

923E0005A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 91 pp 2-4

[Text] The entire party and all the people are striving to implement the resolution of the seventh party congress in order to gradually bring the country out of the present economic and social crisis and continue on the socialist path. The party has affirmed that making renovations and advancing to socialism are the commands of life and an irreversible process of our country. This process has accomplished many things, but there are also countless difficulties. The recent changes in the Soviet Union and the world pose new and very difficult challenges for us. Some people have asked: In view of the present complex situation in the world, can Vietnam stand firm and advance to socialism?

This is not the first time that socialism has come under attack. Ever since it was just a "disturbing shadow in Europe," the enemy forces have hated socialism and looked for ways to eliminate it. After socialism was established, it came under even heavier attacks. After the Russian October Revolution in 1917, 14 imperialist countries immediately surrounded it and launched attacks using every means possible, including armed aggression, hoping to destroy the first socialist state in the world. The Second World War, a cruel and bloody war initiated by the fascist imperialists, was also aimed at destroying the Soviet Union and eliminating socialism. When they haven't been able to launch military attacks, they have used economic encirclement, implemented peaceful maneuvers, stirred up political turmoil, tried to corrupt spiritual ideas and sow internal dissension, and applied pressure from the outside. Or they have used a combination of forms and measures. Unable to succeed in one generation, the attacks have continued in future generations. The leaders of the imperialist forces have used countless strategies, tactics, theories, and plans in order to attack and destroy socialism, Marxism-Leninism, and the Communist Party.

In our country, in the mobilization and development processes, the revolution has not always been successful and victorious. Actually, it has faced many tests and had its ups and downs. It has even suffered serious defeats, with seemingly little chance of recovery. During the period 1932-1933, after the Nghe Tinh Soviet movement, the Vietnamese revolution entered a very dark period. Tens of thousands of people were arrested, and thousands were killed. A total of 793 revolutionary warriors died at the Con Dao prison, and 339 comrades were killed in Kontum. The communist party was attacked and terrorized. The party's organizational network and revolutionary bases were smashed. Many outstanding leading cadres in the party such as Tran Phu (who was then party general secretary), Ngo Gia Tu, and Nguyen Duc Canh were arrested and executed.

During the period just after the August Revolution (1945), when the revolutionary regime of the people was still in its infancy, the country had to deal with both domestic and foreign enemies, who were very cruel and cunning. The country did not have a regular army, its finances were exhausted, and there was a serious famine. The country had

just won its independence and did not have diplomatic relations with any other country. It had to rely on itself entirely. The party had to announce that it was disbanding and engage in secret operations. That was a period in which the "fate of the fatherland hung by a thread."

During the years of the resistance against the French colonialists and the years of struggle against the yoke of rule by the American imperialists and their lackeys in southern Vietnam, there were countless times when our country's revolution encountered great difficulties and suffered terrible losses. But with great confidence and iron willpower to hit their idealistic targets, the communists and all the people of Vietnam "maintained their will to fight" (in the words of Tran Phu before he was killed). They constantly overcame difficulties and met the tests and gradually matured and won. As the poet To Huu wrote: "Each time you fall down, the pain becomes less," and "if the movement temporarily quiets down, it will advance."

The situation today is different from before. The socialist revolution is different from the national democratic revolution. But today, it can still be affirmed that "the party and our people are unshakably determined to follow the socialist path chosen by President Ho Chi Minh, our party, and our people. This is the only correct path." [Footnote 1] [Do Muoi, closing speech at the Seventh National CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress of Delegates] This affirmation is not a matter of subjective voluntarism. This is a scientific analysis based on a review of the practices, intellectual nature, willpower, and aspirations of the entire party and all the people.

We believe that the Vietnamese people, under the correct leadership of the CPV, have the intellectual and emotional capabilities to overcome the immediate difficulties and advance the revolution. This nation, which has a long civilization and the will power to help itself and move forward boldly, which has defeated many aggressors, and which has a long tradition of building and defending the country, definitely won't retreat in the face of difficulties. We will certainly build and defend socialism in our beloved Vietnam.

This faith is not an illusion. Because:

First, the birth and growth of socialism is an objective law that follows the movement of history. It has its own vitality and cannot be eliminated easily. Soviet Russia, a country that had average development standards during the first decades of the 20th Century, was encircled by the capitalists and had to face the dangers alone. But it gradually built socialism and succeeded in turning the Soviet Union into a superpower, a worthy opponent of the imperialists, the pillar of peace, and the bulwark of the world revolutionary movement. It defeated the fascists and rescued mankind from extermination. Socialism has become an international system that has attracted billions of people on this planet. It won't be easy to do away with this.

Second, Vietnam has a population of almost 70 million people. It has favorable natural conditions and resources. After many years of war, it has now entered a period of peaceful construction. The political situation is stable. The

people are fiercely patriotic, diligent, creative, and closely tied to the party. After many years of construction, our country has a number of specific material and technical bases, particularly the electricity, coal, cement, and oil and gas bases, that are beginning to manifest an effect and that are gradually balancing a number of important norms. The important thing is that after several years of renovation, our country's economy is undergoing very important changes in terms of both structure and management mechanism. We are beginning to form a multifaceted commodity economy with a socialist orientation that operates based on a market mechanism under the control of the state. Many latent powers are being exploited.

The initial advances concerning the economy, the standard of living, and the democratization of society and the achievements in various other spheres have made important contributions to solidifying the people's confidence about the future of socialism and the leadership of the party.

Third, for many years now, the party has recognized the shortcomings and leftist errors in carrying on the socialist revolution, and it has put forth measures to overcome these shortcomings. The sixth and seventh party congresses set the line of renovating the country in all respects and corrected the viewpoints on socialism and the path to socialism. Although we must continue to revise, develop, perfect, and concretize things, the basic lines are in accord with the objective laws and Vietnamese practices and they can satisfy the needs and hopes of the people. Friends far and near in the world have expressed approval. And in reality, since the Sixth CPV Congress, these lines have been tested. We have changed the direction of economic and social development and revised many major policies on internal and external affairs. The practices and thinking of society have changed. Many new methods have appeared. If we are to continue to advance, a very important factor is to find a proper orientation based on a spirit of independence, self-reliance, and creativity.

Our ranks of cadres and party members include many generations. Although some are degenerate and no longer enjoy the confidence of the people, the majority are still loyal to the work of the people. They remain steadfast in their revolutionary viewpoint, they are in agreement with the lines of the party, and they are resolved to hit the party's targets. Many comrades have matured and been trained during the socialist revolution. The entire party is striving to make improvements and renovate itself and improve its leadership standards and capabilities in the new situation.

Fourth, the basic problem of the revolution is the administrative problem. Our administration is one that belongs to the people based on an alliance between the working class and the peasant class and the intellectuals under the leadership of the communist party. In recent years, the various echelon authorities have made a number of advances in managing and controlling the work of the country, practicing democracy, and improving organization and operating formulas. We will soon revise the constitution and reform the state apparatus based on implementing the democratic rights of the people even better, maintaining social discipline, and dealing in a dictatorial manner with those who encroach on the interests of the fatherland and people. The apparatus is being streamlined. It has real power and is operating effectively. We are waging a resolute struggle against corruption and bureaucratic centralism in the state organizations.

Fifth, with an open foreign policy, Vietnam is gaining more and more friends. Our relations with a number of countries have clearly improved. This has opened up new prospects and new development directions. Many countries and many foreign corporations are now doing business with us. More and more cooperative forms are being used. Hundreds of plans for foreign investment here have been approved. The export value has increased quite rapidly during the past four years, and this has greatly reduced the trade deficit as compared with before. In general, the modern scientific and technical revolution, with its broad international tendency, is providing our country with a good opportunity to develop.

Clearly, we have a basis for predicting that the coming years will be years of vigorous development in our country's revolution based on correct renovation on the path to socialism.

The important problem today is that we must remain confident. Lost property and even lost honor can be recovered, but if people lose confidence, then everything is lost. The basis for our confidence is the correct lines, the clear guidelines, and clear measures. The Seventh CPV Congress began building that basis. Reality will prove this and supplement and development this. The responsibility of every party member, particularly the party committee echelons and cadres who manage the sectors and elements, is to use the spirit and energy of communists in leading the masses in implementing the line of the seventh congress, constantly remain alert, and solidify and maintain confidence.

When there are difficulties, we must strive even more to maintain confidence.

### Issues on Agriculture, Rural Areas, and Peasants in Our Country

923E0005B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 91 pp 5-8

[Article by Nguyen Van Tri, M.A. in economics, secretary of the Quang Xuong District CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Committee, Thanh Hoa Province]

[Text] Our country is advancing to socialism starting from small-scale production and an agricultural economy. Thus, the problem of expanding agricultural production has constantly been discussed, and efforts have been concentrated on solving this problem. Since the Fifth CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress, agriculture has held the leading position in the national economy. In recent years, our country's agriculture has scored notable achievements, and grain yields have increased constantly. During the period 1986-1989, grain yields increased an average of 1 million tons a year. In particular, in 1990, yields in the Red River and Nam Bo deltas reached 21.5 million tons. Even though the results achieved are just the beginning, they show that the party's views on expanding agriculture in all respects and tying solving the agricultural problems to solving the rural area and peasant problems are completely correct.

However, in our country, there are still many long-standing problems concerning agriculture, rural areas, and peasants that must be studied and solved.

Agriculture, rural areas, and peasants have always been organically related. They have exerted pressure on each other and created the preconditions for mutual mobilization and development. Acts that violate or negate this relationship cannot benefit the economy or society.

Under the old system, to some extent, the ruling class recognized this relationship and so, in its policies, solving the agricultural production problems were usually related to satisfying the needs of the peasants and building the rural areas. With the viewpoint of "using agriculture to surround the villages," many feudal dynasties had a policy of privatizing the land. The Tran dynasty implemented a system of country estates and great estates. The Le dynasty implemented a policy of distributing the land equally. Whenever a natural disaster ruined the crop or the emperor died, the peasants were exempted from taxation. Nguyen Cong Tru assembled peasants scattered here and there to reclaim arable land in the Kim Son area in Tien Hai in order to build the rural area, expand agriculture, and improve the lives of the peasants.

Naturally, each issue (agriculture, rural areas, and peasants) has its own separate position and has a relationship with many other economic and social spheres. Agriculture cannot be separated from the role of industry, handicrafts, markets, or science and technology. The peasants are not separate from the other classes and strata in the collective community. The rural areas have a relationship with the cities. When studying each issue, researchers must go deeply into each of its relatively independent aspects in order to find ideas. But when dealing with the issues in reality, these issues cannot be separated from each other. All three issues

must be viewed as part of a cause-and-effect relationship. One is the precondition for the other, with all three developing within a unified whole. This means that to solve the agricultural problem in accord with its position as the leading front, the rural area and peasant problems must be solved at the same time. When it is said that water conservancy is the leading measure, all that means is that the most important thing is to provide water for agricultural production. Another important point to note is that to do this, the peasants must strive to dig ditches, build embankments, and buy water pumps. They must build water conservancy projects, communications routes, and an electricity network in order to build the new rural area and a new life for themselves.

At the macrocosmic level, when studying and examining the agricultural issue, this issue cannot be separated from the rural area and peasant issues. Thus, building a progressive society in our country cannot be done by making general appeals but must be done using the progressive realities in each sphere and at each site, above all in the rural areas. This is because there are about 50 million peasants, that is, the great majority of our people live in rural areas. The progress made by the peasants is the basic measure of social progress. If mistakes are made concerning the peasant problem in the general line and in the economic and social strategy, it will be difficult for socialism to succeed.

Looking at our country's rural areas today, it can be seen that we do not have a strategic rural construction program. This means that we do not have a system of policies really suited to the peasants.

On the economy: We have recently made appeals and tried to stimulate production. We have discussed the investment and technical equipment issues and the problem of building an infrastructure for production. But we have tended to ignore social policies regarding rural areas and peasants. It must be understood that these policies are an integral part of the economic and social development line aimed at encouraging the active nature of the laborers and enriching the country. This is not aid or "charity" for peasants.

Since the implementation of Politburo Resolution 10, the rural areas have undergone important and profound changes. The peasants are no longer passive producers remote from the products and final goals. Today, they are more active and are taking more initiative in production. Previously, everything was decided by the cooperative. Now, to a certain degree, each household and cooperative member is manifesting ownership rights. This is a new source of motive power for future changes. But the difficulty today is that the job problem facing the peasants has not been fundamentally solved. For example, in Quang Xuong District, which is one of the key rice districts in Thanh Hoa Province, the peasants have work for only about 200 days each year. In recent years, the number of unemployed laborers has been increasing. The lack of work has affected incomes, interests, and social fairness. This has limited people's labor enthusiasm and creativity.

With the effects of Contract 10, the incomes of the peasant households have risen, particularly in those land areas that

have won bids. But because of the many irrational mechanisms and policies concerning circulation, credit, prices, the supply of materials, agricultural taxes, and so on, the rate of growth of the agricultural economy is still low.

The state has tended to ignore the supply of materials outside the markets. Thus, the "fever" for agricultural materials has had a great effect on production and the incomes of the peasants. After the peasants harvest their crops, they must sell their agricultural products. But the state doesn't have any money to purchase their products and so they are subject to arbitrary grading and pricing. Even with the Contract 10, with the present mechanism, the "contract yield" reserved for them is insufficient to compensate them for their labor and so the degree of stimulation is low. (The 30 percent of the peasant households that became wealthy quickly following the Contract 10 did so not by farming but by performing services, planting gardens, and rearing fish in ponds.)

When prices were raised in 1981 and 1985, it was the peasants who suffered the most. We have talked about raising the price of materials in order to ensure accumulation and balance the budget. But how can we explain social fairness? Accumulation must come from production, not circulation.

**On politics and society:** The rural areas are not yet really peaceful. In order to ensure that the peasants can work with their minds at ease, more attention must be given to the problem of social safety. In many places, the party and administrative organizations and even the cooperative economic organizations are marked by bureaucratic centralism. A number of cadres are oppressing the masses. In one village, the party chairman and members of the standing committee have had to be expelled from the party, the secretary of the village party committee has had to be dismissed, and the party committee, village people's committee, and cooperative have had to be replaced twice, but the people still aren't satisfied. Naturally, among the masses, there are some extremists who want to stir up trouble. But it must be realized that bureaucratic centralism and oppression of the masses is real. It seems that the slogans "the peasants are the main forces" and "trustworthy allies" have been forgotten."

The rural areas are quite backward as compared with the cities, particularly with respect to culture and education. The cultural standard of the peasant households is usually around Grade 5 or Grade 6. Illiteracy and semi-literacy are increasing. The people's standard of culture is generally low. The information reaching the peasants is limited. Superstition is increasing again. Is it that the peasants are encountering so many difficulties that they are turning to the "spirit world" in spiritual life?

In short, to ensure that the agricultural viewpoint, which is the leading front, maintains its meaning and to achieve success on the agricultural economic front, we must solve the agricultural, rural area, and peasant problems simultaneously. We cannot hope to expand agriculture if we separate this from rural area progress and the interests and ownership rights of the peasants.

In view of the above situation, I would like to propose suggest the following ideas:

First, democracy, particularly economic democracy, must be implemented in the rural areas. Only if there is economic democracy will it be possible to guarantee political and social democracy. The loss of economic democracy will provide a basis for the survival of bureaucratic centralism, corruption, and oppression of the peasants. We have tried to improve management many times, but with the old cooperative mechanism and old management models, little has been achieved because of the failure to exploit the positive nature of the peasants. The peasants will remain passive and indifferent to production until the mechanism and laws take decisive action against "corruption" and "oppression."

The present contract and bidding methods are management forms aimed at guaranteeing economic democracy. Expanding the commodity economy so that the peasants have a relationship with the state and other economic and social elements through the markets is a method for guaranteeing economic democracy. Only by doing this will the peasants take control of the land and means of production, participate actively in the production process, be able to calculate product production costs and income levels in the exchange process, and control this process. No one can force them.

The scale of the economic and social management organizations must be appropriate. In Quang Xuong District, we have tried "tying administrative and social management to economic management on a hamlet scale." These experiments have shown us that the hamlets can solve many problems in accord with the new management mechanism, problems concerning production, distribution, politics, culture (particularly village culture), and cadre capabilities. For a long time now, the village level has been too large and inappropriate. It has exposed many difficulties and shortcomings in the new management mechanism.

Economic democracy must be tied to political democracy, and it must be ensured that the peasants are really the masters of the new rural area. Prior to the Contract 10, only the cooperative management boards and the key cadres in the village administration really had "ownership rights" in the rural areas. In many places, the cooperative management boards had greater power than the village authorities. Thus, a mechanism must be built to ensure that the peasants in particular and the people in general have the right to elect, control, monitor, and dismiss elected officials who have become "mandarins" and whom they no longer trust.

Second, the intellectual standards of the people and the cultural and scientific and technical standards of the peasants must be raised.

The information system must quickly be reorganized for the rural areas and peasants. If standards are low and there is a lack of information, there cannot be real democracy, and there is the danger of people being deceived by opportunists who oppose the revolution.

Third, we must continue to promote production, intensive cultivation, and multicropping, change the crops, and

arrange a rational crop allocation in order to have high yields of great value. Grain is still the key problem, but this must be commodity grain. We must not return to self-reliant [agriculture]. Water conservancy is still the leading technical measure and a very important task in the rural areas. Even though a place may have specific work methods, it must also implement the motto of the "state and people working together."

Water conservancy must be tied to communications. In particular, rural area communications tasks must be carried out well. Policies must be implemented to soon bring electricity, machinery, and processing technology to the rural areas. Jobs must be created, and the value of agricultural products must be increased. In particular, attention must be given to the village cadres, and scientific and technical cadres must be sent to the rural areas.

Fourth, the state must provide more help to the peasants and study suitable forms of credit so that the peasants have production capital. Direct investments must be made for the peasant households and people directly engaged in production. Steps must be taken to ensure that the state is not used and that it does not lose capital.

The state must invest suitable amounts in technology. Expenditures must be calculated in order to make exchanges with the peasants, but the state budget must bear the burden. As for strategic materials needed for production, such as nitrate fertilizer, insecticides, and so on, the state must hold a monopoly in order to promptly exchange things with the peasants at a suitable price. Private merchants should not be allowed to control things, disrupt the markets, arbitrarily raise prices, or pressure the people.

When switching over to the new mechanism in order to expand production and exploit the economic elements, it will not be possible to avoid creating divisions between rich and poor and changing the class structure in the rural areas. The number of wealthy people will increase, but some of the peasants will grow poorer because they lack capital, because they don't know how to do the work, or because they are lazy. For each type, there must be suitable measures to help them. But as reality has shown, most are families that lack manpower and families of war invalids and war dead. The state must implement measures to help them and manage their interests in order to raise the standard of living of these households.

Laws on inheritance rights and the transfer of land to peasants who have received contracts must soon be promulgated. The situation in which the land is subdivided into small plots in the "Contract 10" must soon be overcome. Studies must be done on tying the field economy to the garden economy and forming a farm economy in the new rural projects.

Fifth, guiding, investigating, and studying things must be promoted in order to soon reach conclusions on a suitable economic and social model for the rural areas. There are many subjects that must be studied. These include agricultural cooperative organizations, household contracts in conjunction with long-term use rights, land inheritance, agricultural service cooperatives or service cooperation teams and

agricultural extension organizations, and household contracts or "small farm owner" organizations.

#### **Building the New Life in the Present Stage**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 9-12*

[Article by Do Huy; not translated]

#### **So That Intellectuals Become a Motive Force in Reality**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 13-15, 18*

[Article by Khong Doan Hoi; not translated]

#### **The External Economy in Economic and Social Development to the Year 2000**

*923E0005C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 91 pp 16-18*

[Article by Nguyen The Uan, M.A. in economics]

[Text] The external economy holds a very important position in our country's economy. Reality in reviving and expanding the economy following the war and in building socialism in our country has proven this. Almost all economic spheres are directly related in some way to the imported material and technical factors. For many reasons, participating in the international market has become an objective necessity:

Today the internationalization of the economies of the countries in the world has reached a high point. Every country is participating in world trade. No country can develop quickly or effectively if it stays out of that orbit. In the present period of rapid scientific and technical development, countries that isolate themselves from the outside world are restricting themselves. They will be eliminated.

Our economy is basically small-scale, backward production. Productivity is low, and the demand for many types of goods needed for production and life is very pressing. A point worth noting is that our country's economy is still very dependent on the outside for equipment and a number of important raw materials. Import needs to promote production and stabilize living conditions are still very large. Because of this, finding outside sources of strength is now very important for our country. With the motto of "import first, then export" (import first in order to invest in production and then export in order to balance imports), foreign trade has become an important factor not only in the production process but also in the accumulation process.

Furthermore, our economy still hasn't gotten out of the serious crisis that has existed for many years. Inflation is rising, production is expanding slowly and is unstable, our resources, equipment, laborers, and new capabilities have not been used well, the people's standard of living is low, and cultural and spiritual life and morals are not wholesome. We will not be able to escape this crisis quickly unless

we give attention to strengthening external economic relationships and make a great effort to obtain foreign sources of strength in order to resolve our internal difficulties concerning production and life. It can be said that in the 1990s, economic and trade relations between the countries of the world will expand and become more varied than before. If we slight the role of external economic relationships, it will be difficult for us to escape our present economic and social crisis and promptly bring our country into the international stream.

In short, for Vietnam today, strengthening external economic relationships is both basic and urgent. In the Strategy for Stabilizing and Expanding the Economy and Society to the Year 2000, the party has affirmed that we must "expand economic relations with all countries, international organizations, and foreign corporations and individuals based on the principle of maintaining independence, sovereignty, and equality and ensuring mutual profit. Manifesting a spirit of independence and self-reliance and fully exploiting the country's advantages and sources of strength are the basic conditions for effectively expanding the external economy and ensuring that the economy constantly expands within a position of independence." [Footnote 1] [Strategy for Stabilizing and Expanding the Economy and Society to the Year 2000, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 9]

In order to effectively implement the above guideline, attention must be given to the following points:

First, we must grasp the special characteristics and role of the external economy in the new conditions of our country's economy. Today, internal reproduction processes are heavily dependent on outside factors, particularly equipment and a number of important raw materials. Without the active help of the external economy, it will be difficult to overcome the serious imbalance in the national economy in order to expand production and stabilize life.

On the other hand, to develop the economy, there must be large initial investments to build the necessary material and technical base. However, because our production is small-scale production, the national income is inadequate for consumption, and the ability to accumulate using the national economy is not very great. Thus, taking foreign loans in order to pay for these investments is very important.

Something worth noting is that in conditions of rapid scientific and technical development, equipment depreciates faster than ever before. Thus, unless we actively participate in the international division of labor and international trade, we will be left behind and will not be able to escape from poverty and backwardness.

Second, attention must be given to a number of special themes in the external economic policy of the 1990s:

Besides expanding and increasing the results of the external economy, exploiting external targets, making use of competition, and gaining a position on world markets, the Strategy for Stabilizing and Expanding the Economy and Society to the Year 2000 also stresses that the economic and social target for the entire country in the 1990s is to concentrate on

promoting exports in order to pay the overage debts and satisfy some of the immediate needs with respect to production and circulation and distribution. On the other hand, we must make a great effort (and achieve results) to obtain foreign investment capital in order to build and improve our economic structure and create the material and technical conditions for increasing our country's economic growth rate.

On a formula for varying external economic relationships: In conditions in which our country's exports are still weak, we cannot vary the external economic relationships at any price. In particular, at a time when our foreign trade still depends on the outside and we can't pay the debts that are due, varying external economic relationships is difficult and limited.

In recent years, even though our foreign trade has made important advances, in terms of quantity and structure, our exports are still backward. The export value is small. All commodities are exported, but there are few new goods (industrial goods). At the same time, import needs, from the standpoint of export value and structure, are large, and imports are essential for both production and daily life. This situation will probably continue in the coming years. Thus, it is essential that we formulate a correct import-export structure policy for the period from now until the year 2000.

In my view, in conditions in which the economy still has many difficulties, the production of export goods will definitely suffer from many limitations, particularly with respect to capital. Thus, to promote exports, investment capital must be provided for the production of export goods. Without an attractive policy to mobilize capital for exports, it will be difficult to accelerate things in the export sphere.

Because we have difficulties concerning capital, in the export structure, we must give attention not only to commodities but also to other strengths such as processing goods for export, exporting labor, performing ship repair services, carrying on international transportation and tourist activities, and so on. These are external economic activities that can expand quickly in the coming years. If we have correct mobilization policies, the state should be able to quickly increase exports in the coming years.

Along with imports, we need foreign investment capital in order to obtain external sources of strength and make effective use of those sources in order to create high social labor productivity and increase our ability to pay our foreign debts.

Exports and imports are two aspects of the foreign trade of a country. Exports create the conditions for imports, with goods imported in order to satisfy domestic needs with respect to production and daily life. Because imports greatly exceed exports, we have created debts, debts that must be paid (through exports). Thus, the state's foreign currency policy, particularly its policy on borrowing money from abroad, must be very firm. When we borrow money, we must be sure that we can repay the loans.

On foreign markets: The Soviet Union and the East European countries are in a severe economic and social crisis,

and so far they have not found a way out of this crisis. Our trade value with these countries has declined greatly. These countries are demanding that we pay our current and overage debts. This is creating even more difficulties for us. On the other hand, the expansion of economic relations with other zones in the world has been limited by many objective and subjective factors, and it will not be possible to increase trade immediately in order to compensate for the decline in our economic relationship with the Soviet Union and the East European countries.

In the above conditions, it is essential that we implement an open-door policy in order to establish economic relationships with all countries. However, if this policy is to be effective, we must create a new position in economic relations with other countries. We must continue to have economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This must be regarded as an important task. At the same time, we must look for opportunities to quickly expand economic relations with the West European countries, end the American embargo, boldly penetrate markets in Asia and the Pacific, and gradually improve economic relations with China. We must join international organizations and international economic and commercial associations. This is because the world market today is a

highly organized market. Unless we work through the international organizations, it will be difficult for us to penetrate and gain a foothold in international markets.

The state's role in managing foreign trade is becoming more and more ineffective. Is this because we have not fully implemented the principles on foreign trade activities put forth at the Sixth CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress? The dispersal of external economic activities over a broad plane, which has made it impossible for the state to control things, has led to negative phenomena and generated turmoil in the external economic sphere. The effectiveness of foreign trade in supporting the economic and social targets of the party and state is declining. Foreign loans are taken and paid arbitrarily, and current and overage debts can't be paid and continue to increase. This has become a heavy burden on the national economy.

In the face of this situation, we must soon reaffirm that the guiding principle of socialist foreign trade is to strengthen the role of the state in uniformly managing external economic activities. If the management role of the state is not manifested, the external economic activities will be ineffective, because it will not be possible to concentrate properly on the targets and guidelines for stabilizing and developing the country's economy and society to the year 2000.

### Regulatory Measures and Market Management in the New Mechanism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 19-22

[Article by Ngo Tri Long; not translated]

### Continue the Path of Perfecting Democracy

923E0005D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 91 pp 23-27

[Article by Hoang Cong - Hung Nghiem]

[Text] In recent years, the issue of democracy in the socialist countries in general and in Vietnam in particular has become a target of analysis of many people, including bourgeois theoreticians and propagandists and communists. However, concerning the achievements and shortcomings of democracy in these countries, people have not fully evaluated all the objective and subjective reasons and sometimes they have been biased.

As compared with bourgeois democracy, which has been in existence for more than 200 years, socialist democracy has existed for only 70 years at most. Bourgeois democracy arose and developed in the highly industrialized countries. Socialist democracy, on the other hand, arose in countries with much lower economic standards and even in backward agricultural countries such as Vietnam. Arbitrary acts and low cultural standards are conditions that lead to undemocratic acts. While the democratic countries have had several hundred years of peaceful development without being threatened by anyone, the socialist countries have constantly faced military and economic encirclement by the imperialists. They have faced the threat of annexation and war. These pressures have contributed to extending the centralized system of the state and the all-encompassing nature of the party, which are suited to a state of war.

It is easy to see the great degree to which those objective reasons have been at work in Vietnam. In Vietnam, even though we have many shortcomings, we have still achieved notable democratic results that other places haven't. An example is that the universal right to vote is respected. There is no violence, bribery, or deception during elections, which is often the case in many places in bourgeois society. Not only the political, social, and state organizations but also the people have the right to formulate and participate in formulating laws. In the power organizations, from the center to the localities, it is the common laborers and intellectuals who hold most of the positions. This is not the case in many of the bourgeois democratic countries.

Since the Sixth CPV Congress, there has been a new atmosphere of democracy. Democracy has become a necessary principle in the activities of the state, party, and mass organizations. This has become an issue of life style. Under the demands of democracy, openness and criticism have expanded, and information and the press are freer. Many anti-democratic acts and violations of human rights have been exposed and dealt with. There is now a deeper understanding of the democratic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism in accord with the realities of the age and the

country. The cadres' and people's level of understanding concerning democracy has increased notably.

We now have a basic understanding of democracy based on humanistic thought. This concerns liberating man and raising man to the level of real master of social life in general. But that is not an individual wish or aspiration, a favor, or general humanitarian desire. Rather, it is actually an economic and political issue. If the laborers are not the masters of the means of production and if they do not control production, it will not be possible to have steady economic development, particularly in a modern market economy. Because of this, democracy has become the yardstick for measuring economic, social, and human progress and for measuring the superiority and civilization of a social system. With this, it is easy to understand why democracy has become the focus of the ideological struggle between the two systems and of the world political struggle.

The pillar of real democracy is the ownership rights of citizens in participating in controlling the country. Or to state this another way, power belongs to the people; the people are the ones with the highest power. Power, in its proper sense, must be systematized in the form of laws, above all in the basic law—the constitution. Power cannot protect itself and cannot be transformed into reality. There must be a system of laws, a system of state organizations, and political and social organizations that operate lawfully to defend democracy. Because of this, what democracy requires is a judicial system and judicial order. In this, the state and the political and social organizations are the defenders and the environment and operating spheres for implementing the democratic rights of the people. In this sense, democracy is always tied to the state, the law, and politics in general.

From both theory and actual practices in our country in recent years, we can see that the two main problems of perfecting democracy in Vietnam are economic mastery and political control. These two issues have a cause-and-effect relationship. Political democracy must be based on economic democracy if it is to be stable.

What is economic democracy? For a long period of time, because of our misconceptions about socialist society, Vietnam's economy existed within a bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies management mechanism with two forms of ownership, all-people and collective ownership. This type of management eliminated the independence of each enterprise and the ownership rights of each laborer in the enterprise and destroyed their creativity. Laborers did not have suitable economic interests. In reality, there was nothing to tie their individual responsibilities to the enterprise. Because of this, "ownership rights" was just a slogan but was not a part of real life. The unowned common property fell into the hands of a number of degraded individuals holding positions of power. In recent years, we have made progress by giving greater independence to the enterprise directors. But that is not in accord with controlling the individual responsibility of the directors using economics and it is not in accord with inspections by the state and the laborers (because they don't have real ownership rights with respect to the means of production).

Because of this, there has not been any fundamental change with respect to the waste and theft of state and collective property. Furthermore, this has led to anarchy at a number of places.

Affirming a market economy along with the existence of different economic elements, actually, other types of ownership, is a long step forward that is in accord with the law. But what can be done to ensure that state and collective ownership are effective? This is tied to stimulating economic interests using rational distribution measures. It also depends on solving the problems regarding the laborers' right to own and use the means of production.

Reality shows that the most important basis of the individual interests and responsibilities of laborers is ownership of the means of production. Steps must be taken to ensure that among the common assets, under the state and collective forms of ownership, there are also separate assets belonging to the laborers. Concerning this problem, a joint ownership form seems to be the best form. With respect to the existing state enterprises, perhaps some of the means of production should be collectivized or privatized. State enterprises can be turned into corporations (in accord with the recently promulgated corporation law). The common assets will be controlled from below by the laborers, thereby avoiding arbitrary actions by the directors. In the case of a state enterprise that has not been turned into a corporation, the important thing is to solve the problems having to do with the right to use the means of production. Should the form collective self-control based on contracts be implemented widespread?

A market economy and the laws of such an economy (the law of value, the law of supply and demand, profits, and so on) require that there be independent and equal economic subjects. This means that a market economy recognizes the right of every person to participate in the economy with the credentials of both a producer and a consumer. This is a matter of increasing the freedom of citizens in the sphere of economic activities (with the exception of those spheres dominated by the state). As for the state corporations, unless they have the right to operate independently, they will not be able to survive, because they will not be able to promptly satisfy market demands. Thus, the enterprises and corporations should not be placed under the control of administrative sectors regardless of the echelon (such as services, ministries, and so on). Control of the economic activities of the enterprises and corporations that have been granted permission to carry on business must be the responsibility only of the state economic management organizations such as the financial organizations and banks.

On the other hand, in economic activities, steps must be taken to establish equality. Without equality with respect to production conditions and production factors, particularly prices, it will not be possible to maintain the law of value. In situations to the contrary, the only ones who will be able to survive and prosper will be those who are given favorable treatment or those who produce fake goods and who avoid paying taxes, which is the case today. In order to establish the right of independence and equality as the condition and

precondition for economic democracy, economic laws must be promulgated. This is the task of the state, and the state must carry out this task.

Political democracy is a very important and delicate problem. If the democratic rights of citizens are affirmed, those rights can be manifested only if there is an adequate legal system and a state and political system with the ability to protect those rights from the encroachment of people and organizations. The targets that must be eliminated are the reactionary organizations, extremists, and terrorists. However, steps must also be taken to block actions by state organizations and personnel that violate democratic rights. Such violations are now very prevalent. As we all know, the state is a very special sphere. It is a tool of democracy and dictatorship and a complex power and legal system. Thus, the state can easily move ahead of society, become remote from society, and even become remote from the classes and strata on which it is based. Thus, it can be said that the essence of political democratization is to build a state organization system with the ability to protect the rights of the people and expand direct and indirect democratic forms so that the people can exert their ownership rights and participate in controlling and managing the state.

The state is both a power apparatus of the ruling class to suppress the opposition forces and an apparatus to regulate the dissimilar and even opposing interests in society. It is an administrative and social control apparatus. At the same time, it is an apparatus to serve society. In the nature of the socialist state, these two aspects are closely related to each other, with the aim being to serve society and the people and oppose manifestations of being remote from or above the people.

The political democratic rights of the people must be understood in two ways: First, they must control things through the state and the political and social organizations, which serve as representatives. Second, they must control the systems. The first requires broader participation by the people in the state organizations and the political and social organizations. The second requires expanding the direct democratic forms, such as meetings, debates, motions, the contribution of ideas and struggle criticisms using the mass means of information, and direct meetings with the state representatives. These forms must be regarded as lawful manifestations of the people's democratic rights. Even though these forms are not in widespread use today and people are not familiar with them, the time has come to implement laws for these forms.

Laws must also be implemented concerning the formation and operations of the state organizations and the political and social organizations, which have the credentials of a state apparatus and of a political system that encompasses all of society. This is related to the election law, the laws on state organizations, the laws on political and social organizations, and other laws. In Vietnam today, attention must be given to this problem. Furthermore, this is related to the form of the state organization. Without a rational state form, there can't be democracy. Something that must be understood fully is the decisive relationship of the infrastructure with respect to the superstructure and of public

society with respect to the state and the political and social organizations. This is not a matter of understanding history but a practical problem. We must move from public society, in which the citizens have fundamental individual rights and objective economic relationships, to the state. And from the public society-state relationship, we must move to the issue of the party and the other political organizations.

When talking about the state organizations, we must also discuss defining the positions and relationships among the legislative, administrative, and judicial organizations. Only if this problem is solved well will it be possible to implement the principle of all power belongs to the people and, at the same time, implement the principle concerning mutual restrictions and mutual dependence among these organizations, enable these organizations to overcome the shortcomings, correct the mistakes, do away with manifestations of dogmatism, and exploit the technical nature of each system.

The history of modern states shows that the survival of the state is always closely tied to the political parties. The state is always controlled by a political party. In Vietnam, that is the communist party. The party led the classes in seizing power and then organized the establishment of an administration and led the people in defending and building the administration. The party holds power, that is the nature of the leading role of the party. We cannot talk about social leadership if the party stands apart from the administration (naturally, holding power is not the only task of the party). The only question is how the party wields power.

The state is an organization that reflects a class society. The role, operating contents, and organizational form of the state are objectively determined by society. Because of this, the party cannot mold the state arbitrarily but must deal with it like an objective entity with two sides: It is both the power organization of the classes in performing dictatorial functions and an apparatus that serves public society. If the second aspect is ignored, the state will lose stability and continuity in managing the ordinary public activities of society. The party in power must adapt itself to the general nature of the state system and to each system of functional organizations.

The party holds power based on the voluntary trust of the people using both direct and indirect paths. The indirect path is the path through representatives in the power organizations from the central echelon (the National Assembly) to the localities (the people's councils). The problem of renovating the leadership of the party with respect to the state is manifested most clearly in the relationship between the party and these organizations. This relationship must be in accord with the nature of these organizations. These are parliamentary organizations that are free to debate issues, make proposals, compare plans, and then vote. Thus, exerting pressure and limiting freedom of thought is contrary to the spirit of democracy. Instead, persuasion, fair debate based on elevating the role of individuals, and careful and scientific preparation of the plans is the best way to produce collective products that have a

democratic nature but that are still in accord with the viewpoints and lines of the party. Moreover, parliament is the best place to inspect the accuracy of the party's policies. In the representative and power organizations of the people, because of their objective structure, the party must respect the ideas of the representatives of the other political and social organizations (the trade unions, fronts, youth and women's organizations, and other organizations).

The administrative activities of the state organizations require the firm leadership of the party, because they are the most concentrated manifestation of the problem of party power. It can be said that firmly leading and making rational use of the administrative apparatus (which includes the state administrative organizations and the organs of control that are subordinate to the executive sector) will create favorable conditions for quickly implementing the lines of the party. The prestige and collective responsibility of the party are closely related to this. Here, there may be two contrary effects. If the administrative apparatus is organized and used well, the prestige of the party will rise. Conversely, if it is not organized and used well, the party's prestige will decline. Because of this, on one hand, the party must assign stable political cadres to the essential places. On the other hand, it must build and make good use of ranks of highly professional personnel and specialists. The stability of this apparatus, particularly the technical apparatus of state management, must be maintained. This system of organizations must be regulated using the laws, orders, and regulations of the state and not the resolutions and directives of the party.

As for the system of administrative organizations, discipline must be strict, and the principle of centralism must be respected from top to bottom. Here, the relationship between the administrative organizations in the localities and the organizations that represent the people and that have local self-control must be studied and handled well in order to maintain the unity of the state regime and to manifest the initiative, creativity, and ownership rights of the people. The party organizations in the localities must carry out their tasks in accord with this relationship; otherwise, anarchy will arise and grow.

The judicial apparatus is highly independent. It is subject only to the laws. The party must respect its independence and not interfere in any way with its specialized work. Misconceptions concerning the leadership of the party with respect to this organization must be corrected. However, there is nothing to prevent the party from making recommendations and assigning qualified party members to these organizations. The party must use the information systems, press, and state organizations concerned to control and monitor the judicial organizations. This is in accord with the principle of democratic centralism of the state.

Perfecting democracy in our country is a long-term and complex task. This will not be an easy struggle, because the transitional period is filled with dissimilar interests and many different forces.

**A Few Ideas on Development Investment and Social Fairness**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 28-30, 41*

[Article by Tran Nhom; not translated]

**The Science and Politics of Renovating Marxist-Lenist Education**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 31-34*

[Article by Le Xuan Luu; not translated]

**Quang Ninh—Potential and Development Strength**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 35-38*

[Article by Tien Hai; not translated]

**Tien Giang: Lessons Learned From Reality**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 39-41*

[Article by Nguyen Trong; not translated]

**Ho Chi Minh City Implements a Social Policy on Meritorious People**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 42-45*

[Article by Nguyen Van Chi; not translated]

**Shoot Into the Air**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese*  
*No 10, Oct 91 p 45*

[Article by Hong Duong; not translated]

**Has Communism Come to an End?**

923E0005E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese Oct 91 pp 47, 48

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Phu, director of the 3 February Enterprise, Krong Pac-Dac Lac]

[Text] Our enemies are gloating. And some of us, communists, are wavering in the face of the events that have taken place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Has communism come to an end?

Let's be fair and, starting from a scientific basis, analyze the things that have happened in the world in the past period and that are happening today. We must not be biased, because the things that have and are happening go beyond our desires and traditional ideas. This could lead to skepticism and despair, distorted or extremist thoughts and actions, or pessimism about the path that we have chosen. This is a golden opportunity for our enemies to attack us.

It is true that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a number of communist parties in Eastern Europe have lost their leading role and collapsed. But the defeat and collapse of a number of communist parties should not be confused with the end of communism.

The various communist parties have all used Marxism-Leninism as their ideological foundation. But in the implementation process, many parties have made the serious mistake of transforming the scientific and revolutionary theories of Marx and Lenin into rigid formulas and implementing these formulas in a mechanical and dogmatic manner. Society has put forth new tasks, but communists have continued to adhere to their old wishes in a subjective and voluntaristic manner regardless of the objective laws. Because of this, they have had to pay the price.

This is one of the mistakes concerning theoretical understanding. But what about actual activities?

First, with respect to organization, in the process of building and expanding the party, many communist parties have made their leadership role absolute and unintentionally transformed the party into a second state standing above the state in order to guide the state. They have created a privileged mechanism that has led to special rights. Thus, opportunists have joined the party not because they share the ideals of the party but because they want those special rights and privileges. They engage in corruption and bribery, harass the people, and weaken the people's confidence in the party.

Second, with respect to implementing the revolutionary lines, because of subjectivism and voluntarism, many communist parties have rushed to implement positions and policies that are not in accord with the actual development of society. A concrete manifestation has to do with the distribution of social products. Because the concept of equality is "sameness," they have not relied on the distribution principles stipulated but on average-ism. This has resulted in people relying on and waiting for the fruits of the labor of others.

Because of impatience and subjectivism, forms of ownership of the means of production that are unsuited to the nature and standards of the production forces have been used. Marx said that "the different stages of development of the division of labor are also different forms of ownership. Stated another way, each new stage of the division of labor determines the relationship among individuals based on their relationship with the means of labor, the labor tools, and the labor products." [Footnote 1] [Marx and Engels, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, volume 1, page 270] But during the past several decades, in reality, we have identified socialist production relationships with public ownership of the means of production. This has separated the laborers from the means of production and the labor products. As a result, we have failed to encourage the dynamism and creativity of the laborers in the social labor process.

We can also cite the mistakes and shortcomings in the lines and policies of many communist parties during the past several decades. But those mistakes and limitations cannot refute the achievements that communists have scored in organizing and leading the socialist revolution in their countries or the effects of those achievements on a worldwide scale. Even though people may try to negate those achievements, those achievements are real, and they prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism.

The mistakes made by the communist parties show the limitations in understanding concerning the movement and development of society. These are not the mistakes of communism but the mistakes of those who have applied this in life. Moreover, we must mention the destruction of enemy forces. Those mistakes can be corrected and so there is no reason to reexamine Marxism-Leninism.

The mistakes made by many communist parties in the past period have exacted a price. We don't want to pay the price, but that is a valuable lesson that will enable us to reorganize our ranks and forces and continue to implement our wonderful ideals.

Vietnam is certain that the only correct choice was the socialist path. But whether we can implement that choice depends on many factors. The most important and deciding factor is concretizing the lines of the party and actually implementing those lines. Even if the party's lines are correct and scientific, if we stop with issuing resolutions and fail to concretize and systematize the lines using the law and do not take serious steps to implement them, they will be ineffective.

In order to complete its historical mission, the Communist Party of Vietnam must be strengthened even more. The apparatus of the party and state must be purified so that it is worthy of being of the people, by the people, and for the people.

**Renovate the Ranks of the State Enterprise Directors**

0000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 48-49

[Article by Le Chi Mai; not translated]

**A Look Back at the Formation of America's Universal Strategy**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 50-53*

[Article by Le Lan; not translated]

**Chinese Literary Circles Criticize Pluralism in Literature**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 91 pp 54-55*

[Article by Le Giang; not translated]

**On the So-Called 'Second Generation Marxism'**  
*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese*  
*No 10, Oct 91 pp 56-58*  
[Article by Hong Ky Tuong; not translated]

**Market Relationships**  
*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese*  
*No 10, Oct 91 pp 59-61*  
[Article by Vladamir Konlontai; not translated]

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